

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 EURE-00 /086 W

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P R 051725Z NOV 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4426

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5591

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSCLANT

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 6012

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE/CBMS: POLADS NOV 3 DISCUSSION

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B) STATE 254875 252003Z OCT 75

C) STATE 247047 171509Z OCT 75

D) BERN 4448 290759Z OCT 75

E) STATE 261453 050028Z NOV 75

F) USNATO 5906 301205Z OCT 75

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SUMMARY: AT NOVEMBER 3 NATO POLADS DISCUSSION OF CBMS, FOLLOWING POINTS CAME UP: 1) UK "CERTAIN TREEK" OBSERVER'S COMMENTS; 2) SOVIET ALLEGATIONS THAT NATO IS HOLDING MORE MANEUVERS THIS YEAR THAN IN PAST; 3) YUGOSLAV COMMENTS

ON CBMS; 4) WARSAW PACT ATTENDANCE AT UPCOMING SWISS MANEUVER; 5) CANADIAN ASSESSMENT OF CBMS IMPLEMENTATION TO DATE. ACTION REQUEST: GUIDANCE, IF POSSIBLE IN TIME FOR NOVEMBER 11 POLADS MEETING, ON (A) OVERALL NUMBER AND SIZE OF 1975 ALLIED NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS AS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS YEARS; AND (B) SUGGESTION MADE IN REF F. END SUMMARY.

1. UK "CERTAIN TREK" OBSERVER'S COMMENTS. UK REP (MARGETSON) SAID UK OBSERVER AT EXERCISE "CERTAIN TREK" THOUGHT OBSERVATION ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR EXERCISE BY FRG AND US HAD BEEN GENERALLY EXCELLENT. THERE HAD, HOWEVER, BEEN SOME INITIAL CRITICISM FOR OBSERVERS ABOUT LACK OF DAILY BRIEFINGS, BUT

THESE WERE LATER ORGANIZED AFTER A REQUEST FROM THE OBSERVERS. HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS HAD BEEN A LITTLE CRAMPED, UK REP NOTED, AND OBSERVERS HAD SHARED DOUBLE BEDS. FRG REP (CITRON) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR BRITISH REPORT AND SAID COMMENTS

WOULD BE CONVEYED TO HIS AUTHORITIES.

2. SOVIET ALLEGATIONS. NETHERLANDS REP (HORAK) REPORTED ON A RECENT CONVERSATION BETWEEN DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH (ONE OF THE SOVIET CSCE NEGOTIATORS). LATTER ASSERTED THAT SOVIETS HAVE NOT HELD ANY MANEUVERS ABOVE 25,000 MEN SINCE HELSINKI, BUT NOTED THAT NATO, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD RECENTLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF ITS MANEUVERS. NETHERLANDS REP OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IN REBUTTING SOVIET ALLEGATIONS OF THIS TYPE TO HAVE PRECISE INFORMATION ABOUT NUMBER AND SIZE OF NATO MANEUVERS IN 1975 AS COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS YEARS. IMS REP (COL. WOLF - BELGIUM) SAID HE DID NOT HAVE INFORMATION ON THIS IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE, BUT WOULD TRY TO OBTAIN IT. USREP (LEDOGAR) DREW ON PARA 2 OF REF B, NOTING THAT THERE HAS BEEN MORE WESTERN PUBLICITY ABOUT NATO MILITARY EXERCISES
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THIS YEAR AND THUS MORE OCCASIONS FOR THE SOVIET MEDIA TO REACT. COMMENT: PRIOR TO MEETING, WE HAD DISTRIBUTED TO ALLIES SANITIZED VERSION OF INR REPORT, PER REFS B AND C, ON SOVIET COMMENTARIES ON MANEUVERS AND CBMS. PARA 11 OF REF C CONTAINS STATEMENT THAT "ALTHOUGH NATO'S FALL MANEUVERS THIS YEAR ARE NOT ACTUALLY LARGER THAN NORMAL, THEY MAY HAVE GIVEN THE APPEARANCE OF BEING SO." BECAUSE OF NOFORN CHARACTER OF THIS PARAGRAPH, WE DID NOT DRAW ON IT AT POLADS MEETING. WE RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT PROVIDE US WITH SUITABLE STATEMENT ON OVERALL NUMBER AND SIZE OF 1975 ALLIED

NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS AS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS YEARS. GUIDANCE IN RESPONSE TO REF F WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. END COMMENT. ACTION: REQUEST GUIDANCE.

3. YUGOSLAV COMMENTS. FRG REP SAID YUGOSLAVS HAVE EXPRESSED TO FRG EMBOFFS IN BELGRADE THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER LACK OF SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION OF CBMS. YUGOSLAVS SAID BELGRADE IS HIGHLY INTERESTED IN FULL CBMS IMPLEMENTATION AND EXPECTS TO ISSUE, ON THE AVERAGE, ONE SET OF INVITATIONS PER YEAR TO OBSERVERS. THEY ALSO INTEND TO SEEK INCREASED EXCHANGES OF MILITARY VISITS, AS PROVIDED UNDER CBMS, AT THE 1977 BELGRADE CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETING, YUGOSLAV WANTS TO TRY TO HAVE THE MOVEMENTS CBM MADE MORE BINDING.

4. SWISS MANEUVER. FRG REP ASKED FOR INFORMATION ABOUT WP COUNTRY ACCEPTANCES OF SWISS INVITATION TO UPCOMING NOVEMBER MANEUVERS. US REP DREW ON PARAS 3 AND 4, REF D.

5. CANADIAN ASSESSMENT. CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT, PREPARED BY HIS AUTHORITIES, ON CBMS IMPLEMENTATION TO DATE.

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AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 6012

BEGIN TEXT:

IN APPRAISING THE VALUE SO FAR OF CBMS, CERTAIN BROAD POINTS ARISE BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF WPO PARTICIPATION, AT LEAST UP TO NOW. FIRST THE PERCEIVED BENEFITS ARE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT IN NATURE FROM WHAT WAS PREVIOUSLY ENVISAGED. SECONDLY, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT A FIRM APPRAISAL IS PREMATURE, THOUGH AN INTERIM ASSESSMENT IS NO DOUBT USEFUL BECAUSE THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY MAY WELL STILL BE SORTING ITSELF OUT AND THEIR REACTION TO THE SWISS INVITATION TO CONFIDENTIAL

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SEND OBSERVERS TO THEIR FORTHCOMING MANOEUVRE WILL BE INTERESTING IN THIS REGARD. (INCIDENTALLY, IF THE SWISS INVITATION IS RESTRICTED TO ACCREDITED MILITARY ATTACHES IN BERNE, AS THEY HAVE INDICATED, CANADA WILL BE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE.) OUR THIRD OBSERVATION IS THAT FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, CBMS HAVE BEEN A NON-EVENT SO FAR. OUR FINAL GENERAL POINT IS THAT THE FACT REMAINS THAT CBMS, HOWEVER THEY MAY OR MAY NOT BE IMPLEMENTED, ARE THE FIRST EAST-WEST EUROPEAN MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT HAVING MILITARY ELEMENTS.

ON THE PLUS SIDE, EXPERIENCE SO FAR INDICATES THE FOLLOWING RATHER MODEST POLITICAL ADVANTAGES:

(1) THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED STATES HAVE BEEN GIVEN TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF THE GOOD FAITH OF THE FIFTEEN IN CONTRAST TO THAT OF THE WP PARTICIPAANTS;

(2) AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS, CBMS AFFORD THE OPPORTUNITY TO STATES SUCH AS FINLAND, YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA TO CONTINUE THE ASSERTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY DO OR DO NOT DO SO ASSISTS APPRAISALS OF THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTS, ALBEIT IN A RATHR SPECIFIC SPHERE;

(3) SOVIET PERFORMANCE SERVES AS A BELLWEATHER AND MAY BE USEFUL AS A MEANS OF KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE FOR MBFR AND OTHER CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEASURES. ALREADY THE NEED FOR UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENTS AND ADEQUATE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS HAS BEEN CONFIRMED. SOME PROBABLE DIFFICULTIES IN NEGOTIATING STABILIZING MEASURES ARE ALSO APPARENT;

(4) SOVIET PERFORMANCE ON IMPLEMENTING CBMS CONTRIBUTES TO THE ONGOING ASSESSMENT OF WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE "OUTER LIMITS OF DETENTE" AND THE COMPARATIVE INFLUENCE WITHIN THE KREMLIN OF THE MILITARY

ESTABLISHMENT AND OTHER HARD LINERS; AND
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(5) LASTLY, THE HANDLING OF WHATEVER SOVIET PROPOSALS
MAY BE FORTHCOMING IN FUTURE IN THE FIELD OF
"MILITARY DETENTE" IS ASSISTED BY THE EVIDENCE-
GOOD OR BAD - OF THEIR PERFORMANCE ON CBMS.

THE VALIDITY OF THE FOREGOING POINTS WILL CONTINUE IN THE
SENSE OF MONITORING THE SOVIETS' ATTITUDE OVER THE COURSE OF
THE NEXT YEAR AND A HALF, PENDING THE CONVENING OF THE CSCE
REVIEW CONFERENCE.

ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, WE ARE OF COURSE
DISAPPOINTED THAT THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE IS NEGATING MANY
OF THE ADVANTAGES WE HAD ANTICIPATED. THEY HAVE NOT
PROVIDED ANY NOTIFICATION (ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT AWARE THAT THE
WP HAS IN FACT CARRIED OUT ANY EXERCISES WHICH REQUIRE
NOTIFICATION) NOR HAVE THEY EVEN ACKNOWLEDGED THE INVITATION
TO SEND OBSERVERS. HOWEVER, THE ONLY DIRECT COUNTER-
PRODUCTIVE EFFECT OF CBMS THAT OCCURS TO US IS THE EXTENT
TO WHICH THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN DECRYING THE FACT OF NATO
MANOEUVRES CAN BE ASCRIBED TO THE EXISTENCE OF CBMS. THANKS
AT LEAST IN PART TO THE COOL EVEN-HANDED TACTICS OF THE
WEST IN NOT OVER-REACTING, THIS CAMPAIGN SEEMS TO HAVE DIED
DOWN. AT ANY RATE, WE HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT LAYING THE BLAME
FOR ITS EXISTENCE ON CSCE, EXCEPT FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT
CBMS RESULTED IN A SOVIET PROTECTIVE REACTION.
END TEXT.STREATOR

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BELGRADE
BERLIN
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BUDAPEST
MOSCOW
PRAGUE
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